1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche



602 582 *ñuke*, the mother's brother's daughter.[7] It is not surprising to find that a considerable amount of freedom of intercourse is permitted to such relatives. From childhood they are encouraged to play together and to sit side by side at family gatherings, and they remain friendly for life. So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses. It is [836] by no means positive that premarital sexual relations are freely permitted. Very likely young men seek to make love to *ñukes*, but the parents of eligible girls sometimes warn them not to yield readily to cousins who have no thought of marriage.[8]

As a corollary of cross-cousin marriage, a man regards his mother's brother, *weku*, as a potential father-in-law, and his mother's brother's wife, *chuchu*, as a potential mother-in-law. 604 A boy is taught to respect and give help to a maternal uncle; and in times past the Araucanians had a strict mother-in-law tabu. A man was forbidden to take things directly from his mother-in-law, to gaze upon her, and to eat or converse with her. If they were indoors, a partition was usually erected between them; if they met outdoors by chance, a woman was permitted only to ask after her daughter's welfare. These customs no longer prevail.[9]

● 593 604 Outside of marital bonds and the mutual love of parents and children, warm ties of affection exist between siblings, and between paternal aunts and their nephews and nieces. Brothers help each other in numerous ways, and when a married sister's husband is away for any length of time, one of her younger brothers is likely to stay with her for the sake of

[7] Attention is again called to the fact that cross-cousin marriage is no longer a universal rule. Nevertheless, the former prevalence of this custom is so vividly remembered that it seems appropriate to describe it in the present rather than in the past tense.

[8] Titiev, 1949, pp. 14–16.

[9] It is hard to reconcile the existence of a mother-in-law tabu with the prevalent practice of patrilocal residence. Possibly, the clearly recalled custom of mother-in-law avoidance points to an earlier rule of matrilocal residence.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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company. Girls often weave ponchos for their brothers, and when a boy is in trouble he may sing a lament, pleading with a sister to help him out. At Carrarriñe we were several times visited by a younger sister of Luciano Huentacura, a widower. Whenever she was offered something special to eat she would put it aside for one of Luciano's little daughters, whom she was helping to rear. At the same time, an older sister of Luciano was bringing up one of his motherless sons in her own home.

In terms of behavior, father's brother is often equated with father, and mother's sister with mother. Aurora, wife of Juan Antinao, had been brought up by a mother's sister whom she looked upon as a parent and now, in middle age, Aurora was reciprocating by caring for one of her sister's daughters.

Much affection also prevails between paternal grandparents and grandchildren.[10] They employ reciprocal terminology, and paternal grandparents generally bestow their own names on first-born grandchildren of the appropriate sex.

It is not uncommon to find a child of poor parents living as a kind of servant in the home of a relative. Arrangements of this sort may be formed by any kinfolk, but are most commonly made by agreement between siblings. These cases involve boys more than they do girls. Such adoptive children perform all manner of chores in exchange for food, lodging, and such things as castoff clothing. They are generally expected to do little more than their more fortunate age mates and are treated much like the natal members of the household.

There is no record of institutionalized joking relationships.[11] It was said that girls joked only with their sisters, but boys were permitted to joke privately with siblings, sons of father's brothers, and brothers-in-law. Secondarily, boys joked with sisters-in-law and father's brothers. Occasionally, joking occurred between a man and the daughter of his father's brother. This topic is in need of further investigation and elucidation.

[10] In a patrilocal society a youngster would have no opportunity to enter into intimate relations with his maternal grandparents.

[11] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 724.

## ASSEMBLY SONGS

7 539

### Man's Reply

ñuke anai ñuke
ñochi müten kimei
mute dungulmi
ñillatu piuke nguea fun
piukeye niye eli
fele kayu müten
tayu poyen külen
inchiu meu ta
dungu kilpe che
inchiu müten kisu.

Free translation.—Wife, dear wife,[15] it would be better if you went more slowly and did not talk so much, or else there may be someone else asking for my favor (literally, piuke, "heart"). If you feel the same love for me that I do for you, just be quiet. Don't set people to talking about us; this is our own affair.

### Woman's Counterreply

koñi anai koñi
müna küme küllüi
tami feipi fiel
ruf künu lan tatei.

Free translation.—Husband, dear husband,[16] what you have said shows that you just jumped at conclusions. I wasn't speaking seriously.

Interpretation.—It seems evident from the readings of the free translations in this group of three songs that a young wife sought to take advantage of Mapuche custom to draw attention to her husband's faults. When he called her to task in his reply, she tried to pass the matter off as a kind of joke.

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[15]Traditionally, and to some extent at present, a Mapuche man was expected to marry the daughter of his mother's brother. The term for this cross-cousin is ñuke and may be used either in the literal sense of "wife" or else somewhat loosely to connote "sweetheart."

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[16]A woman calls her husband koñi, the term for father's sister's son, because in former times she was expected to marry such a cross-cousin. Compare footnote 15.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG: Araucanians SG4
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Woman's Song No. 3

ngüru peuman
ni wesayawan meu
chum nguen afui
femgaei feleael.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a fox. It was bad for me, but there is no help for it now, since that is the way it turned out to be.

Interpretation.—After having been married for two years or so, a wife has come to realise that her husband is like a fox, in the sense that he is given to thieving and wrongdoing.[17] Interested auditors, acting on this hint, make it a point to advise the husband to mend his ways. They also remind him that he has now been married long enough to realise that he ought to settle down and accept the responsibilities of a married man.

Man's Reply

müna wesa pimi
nai pichi nuke
femkefuli ofpe
fachi antü kimgue
eimi meu müten
pusi ñi lelilen
wesa dungu afai.

Free translation.—Things are not as bad as you have said, my little cousin (wife). If I have done anything wrong, it's all over now. Only on you do my eyes gaze. Let everything bad be ended.

Interpretation.—The husband expresses remorse for his errors and promises to mend his ways at once and henceforth to keep his mind only on his wife.

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[17]It is a Mapuche convention that a man whose faults are publicized in an assembly song must neither show anger nor seek to punish his wife. Nevertheless, an ominous tone runs through the husband's reply to Woman's Song No. 2; and the wife's counterreply is distinctly conciliatory.

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Woman's Counterreply

feula anai kuñi
tami un mew
kimael aylpen
fei-ula may ñi pinke
femüli mi kimel
rume ayleyu ula.

Free translation.—Just now, dear cousin (husband), I have heard what I wanted to hear from your own lips. Now my heart is restored to its proper place. If you do what is right, I shall love you more than ever.

Woman's Song No. 4

cod-cod peuma
küme peuman
fei neu felen
ñi rumue küme filla.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a deer. It was a good omen, and that is why I find myself with my lovely husband.

Interpretation.—To dream of a deer is particularly auspicious. The deer is regarded as a gentle and good animal that never hurts anyone and never spoils or destroys anything. When a wife sings in this fashion, all the auditors congratulate the happy couple, who are in need neither of advice nor guidance.

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Woman's Song No. 5[10]

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rumel re ko peuman
famguechi ñi konpayam
ko engu pod fotra kei
fei neu dunga ka lei.

Free translation.—I always dreamed only of clear water. That is how I thought things were going to be, but water and

[10]This song and the next two were termed pikmal kaun ("ironic" or "sarcastic") by Collío. According to him, songs of this type comprise an important form of social control among the Mapuche. Sometimes, it is the only way in which conduct can be regulated. For example, a man who beats his wife may be induced to stop if people are sarcastic to him.

[626]

they call each other medomo ("feces woman").[38] 539

When people hear a song of this kind, which is sung in the presence of the brother-in-law concerned, they keep it in mind but can take no action, since the marriage has not yet occurred. They note the hint of impending trouble, however, and prepare to serve as mediators and conciliators at the first sign of strife. Toward this end a secret committee of friendly and related women may be formed in order to establish amicable relations between the singer and her prospective sister-in-law. 592

Woman's Song No. 8 539

re kochũ dungu
piyeninga welu
afkerkelu kochũtun
fei ula fre letui
tami dungun
ellaka feipi feli.

Free translation.—At first you used to say only sweet things to me, but now the sweetness is gone and your speech is bitter. Please speak to me as you used to do in the beginning.

Interpretation.—Acting on the complaint expressed here, a group of responsible men may take it upon themselves to find out what has gone wrong and to take steps to bring about a reconciliation. Since Mapuche men talk more freely than do women about their private affairs, the group usually has some prior awareness of the husband's side of the case; but the wife's point of view may be entirely unknown up to this moment. As a matter of fact, Collío expressed the opinion that a woman would not sing in this way unless she had been long married and had acquired a feeling of security as the dominant female in her household. 539 593

Woman's Song No. 9 539

maicoño kuntrul
inaful inche meu
pũn-pũn kũlei

[38] Cf. De Augusta, op. cit., I, 133.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



601 tired, as was also the case in the sixteenth century. One respect in which generation is broken is in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. However, MoBrSo is not called "uncle," and FaSiCh are not equated with SiCh, as they are in the Omaha system.

Bifurcate-merging is seen on the parental generation with Fa and FaBr being identified behaviorally and, occasionally, terminologically through the combination of Fa and FaBr terms. Mo and MoSi are identified behaviorally and terminologically, and FaBrWi is included in this equation through the operation of the levirate and sororal polygyny and the custom whereby brothers marry sisters from another household. MoSiHu is called "FaBr," for like reasons. FaBrWi is called "mother" or a mother derivative, regardless of [593] whether or not she is Ego's MoSi. Even with present-day neolocal residence, Fa and FaBr are generally very intimate, and can be identified by Ego in their socio-psychological roles. By extension, this is also true in regard to their spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are differentiated from the above group.

Terminologically there has been little change on the grandparental generation since the earliest times. On the first descending generation there has been no change in the treatment of own or of sister's and brother's children, except for the clear establishment of certain terms which seemed to be in competition in previous lists.

The historical terminologies do not afford a base for comparison with the rest of the "nephew" terms. However, there are important diagnostic differences between these and the ones reported by Titiev (1951:39) and Raguileo (1953:343–59). The terms recorded in Diagram 4 do not reflect the generation-breaking pattern found in the Omaha system, except for the above-mentioned descendence in the MoBr line. The logical continuation of this break, however, is not emphasized in the regions studied by the writer, except in and on the fringe of the Cholchol region.

The grandchildren terms maintain the generation principle in the descendencies, with the rare exception already noted, and there is a differentiation according to the sex of the person through whom the relationship is figured. Both on the third ascending and third descending generations numbers or "distance prefixes" are used, along with current grandparental and grandchild terms.

582 There is a complexity about the incest regulations which reflects the break-
835 down of the kinship system and the associated sanctioned forms of behavior, rather than nuances inherent in the system itself. The result is a pervading uncertainty regarding permissible sexual and marriage partners outside the most customary practices. Because of the number of seeming contradictions and regional variations, the matter of incest regulations will merely be touched on in this paper.

For one thing, informants agree that marriage with MoBrDa was an almost obligatory practice in the remembered past and according to oral tradition learned in childhood. But marriage with MoBrDa was and is by no means a cut and dried matter, nor do incest regulations play a prominent part in its

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 195"
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847 Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Cañaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed 848 by its mother. She is known to do so in Cañaripe area. "A daughter of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

### COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

145 Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen. Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 153 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Cañaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

### ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 736 593 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a normal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in A Chilean orphanage.

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile



a Chilean orphanage. Quoting a non-Araucanian: "Nearly every family has a child or two that is being reared by it, and that is not a member of the family. The love with which these children are reared is astounding. As a rule, the grandparents, or any relative that has a genuine love for the child, rears it. If a relative wants a child merely to help with work, there will be quarreling in the relationship. Among the Mapuche anything pertaining to a child touches the heart." The adopted child will call someone in the home father and mother. An Alipún boy called the grandfather who had adopted him "papa"; his own father "my brother." The child retains its own name. It inherits from its own parents and usually has the same rights as do other children in the home of its adoption. "My mother said that my daughter will not inherit any land from her, but she will help her accumulate animals; she has already given her a pair of oxen and a cow; and recently she gave her another cow." Another instance regarding inheritance was related: A man died, and his wife then deserted their four children. The children were adopted into two families. As adults they each inherited land as did the other children in the two homes into which they had been adopted.

It is still customary for the first grandchild, especially if it is a boy, to be adopted by grandparents, usually the paternal grandparents. This is because a young couple lives in the man's home for a year or longer after their marriage, and the boy is left in that home when his parents leave it to set up their own ruka. Such children inherit, as do the child's father and the father's sisters and brothers.

Reasons for adopting a child may be sheer love for a particular child or for children in general, a desire to have a companion, a wish to remove the stigma attached to a childless couple, or a need for someone to help with the work.

There was no adoption procedure or ceremony. An informant was annoyed when asked if an authority had to be consulted regarding adoptions and a record made of it: "That is our child; certainly we have the right to give it to a relative if we want to. Who has a right over our child but we, its parents! I never heard of any Mapuche doing anything about any adoption, except to let the child go."

Servants, if defined as persons who work for hire, did not exist in the early days. Second and third wives rendered all services required. There are no women servants in Araucanian homes today; an occasional bachelor hires out to a family and is compensated with board and a small amount of cash.

Slavery was not institutional. However, informants had heard old people say that non-Araucanian captives held as hostages in the early days, when not redeemed, were assigned to work without pay.

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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551 look at me." She was offended at this. A girl named Rosa was nicknamed Mas Cora by schoolmates because of a story in a reader entitled "La Rosa Mas Cora"; at home she was called Suspirado de Lacayito (sighing of the lizards). Children answer to nicknames.

Adults, too, have nicknames. A man was called Pizarro because he was a domineering person; another was called Miner because he was caught digging for something unknown to the owner. A woman was called The Dancer because she was lame while her mother was dancing. Children are thought to be disrespectful when using nicknames of adults when speaking of them. Quoting a teacher: "Recently a child came to me, angry and hurt, and said, 'He talked about my father and used a bad name!' 'No, no, he wouldn't do that,' I replied. 'Yes, he did. He called him Turco' (native of Turkey, his father's nickname; probably an implication of being non-Araucanian)."

Elders often call a girl by the diminutive of either her Araucanian or her Christian name as an expression of affection.

## THE FAMILY

### STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

559 [983] In the early days there were both polygynous and monogamous households. Today, with few exceptions, families are monogamous. (Fig. 10; 21, 1; 22, 1.)

983 693 994 The family of Quelcipue and those of his sons and daughters were—and still are—expected to be exemplary ones. Each member is expected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful and law-abiding. Informants made it a point to say of another that he or she was the son or daughter of a cacique; if the person deserved praise, it was given with satisfaction; if his conduct was not in conformity with the approved pattern, it was mentioned with regret and censure. All families, however, whose members live according to customary social standards and whose economic status is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect and are respected by others.

556 983 Wealth is measured in ownership of property which must include a ruka, land, oxen, cattle, and sheep. In general, a family owns enough land and animals to supply its needs. No one was found, during the present study, to own an excessive amount of anything—to do so may arouse jealousy. Jealousy is avenged, it is believed, with disaster, brought about through black art. "Any man here [Colueipe] is rich if he has go to do sleep and more land than he needs for

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile



pasturing them and for raising produce to feed his family well. The average family has 30 to 40 sheep and enough land to raise food so the family is well fed all the year around." In Alepúe area, one of the wealthiest families owned 120 acres of land, some of which was still forested. The father had selected the forested land and knew his family would be given title to it as soon as he had cleared it of trees.

Every person has the right to own land in the area in which his father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land if he proceeds to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to cultivate it. A man who moves to another area has difficulty in acquiring land there. If he can get no land, he has no pasture and therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such a man's family obviously, then, is poor; it has no status in the area—in fact it is only tolerated there. Neighbors will give food to the family whenever it is rumored that it is nearly destitute, but it is always hoped by those who help that the man will take his family to the area where his relatives live. One such family lived in Alepúe area and one in Coñaripe area. The Alepúe family lived in the neighborhood of distant relatives, who, in order to relieve themselves of feeding the family, gave it land for a garden and several cows and sheep. The animals were grazed in someone else's pasture. The father was able to buy wheat and an occasional piece of clothing by selling in non-Araucanian villages fish that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavorable weather prevented him from fishing, kind persons in the area gave the family assistance. The father of the Coñaripe family worked for cash anywhere in the area where he could find work; his wife supplemented his earnings by selling basketry she wove.

A family exhibited status, if all male members, including small boys, wore hats, and if any or all members wore shoes. Hats and shoes indicated to others that the family had means just beyond those needed for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, in which there was continuous quarreling, and in which a member was a thief.

### HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that sincere affection, confidence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by husband and wife. However, the man dominates the family. His decisions are made as the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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593 562 [761] head of the family and are final. He tolerates no contradiction or questioning of his orders. Women were not displeased about this. During the present study a woman refused to take her place when the family was arranging itself for a kodak picture. The older girls in the family explained that their mother had the old belief that she would die if she allowed herself to be photographed. Her husband tried to explain away her fears, and her children coaxed her, but neither availed. Then, in very angry tones, the husband pointed to her place in the group and ordered her to fill it. She did so. Later I asked her why a man could order a woman to do something against her will. She answered, "That is most certainly a man's right. After all it is he who is the progenitor of the human race, and because of this he has rights to give orders." She harbored no ill feelings because of the rebuff. The same prerogative of a father was recognized by a daughter. A non-Araucanian related the following: "We were out walking and saw an intoxicated Mapuche on horseback with his daughter riding back of his saddle. He kept turning around and striking her in brutal fashion. We chided him for it, to which he replied, 'The girl is mine; I can do with her as I please,' and continued striking her. We told the girl to slide down and go with us; that we would give her protection. But she replied, 'He is the master; he can do with us children as he pleases.'"

No woman admitted when interviewed alone or in the presence of other women that the woman's status is lower than the man's, or that men consider women inferior to themselves. When asked why, then, was a woman so silent in her husband's presence and why did women in gatherings of the people sit together so listlessly and talk only in whispers or not at all, an answer from the spokesman of one group was: "What woman with any training would talk when a man is present to do the talking? Most certainly should women keep still then! Men are trained from boyhood on to talk." To which another woman added, "We do our talking when men are not around," to which the other women nodded assent and all had a hearty laugh.

Regarding many things the husband confers with his wife. During numerous interviews a man would confer with his wife regarding details of customs; she often injected bits of information while he was talking, but always in a subdued voice, probably a courteous way of interrupting. On the whole, however, women sat by quietly when men were present; men did the talking. In no instance did a man suggest that his wife give information; if I asked whether his wife would be willing to do so, he answered that he was willing that she

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should. In the absence of men, women were quite talkative and intelligently so. 593 562

Men were seen showing consideration for their wives and being helpful when needed. For instance, a man was seen doing such things as tightening the saddle for her when she was mounted on her horse; handing her baskets or sacks which she was about to transport on horseback; holding a baby or taking turns carrying it when walking distances; arranging her silver hair ornaments before she was photographed; fetching things for her while she was preparing food at fiestas; building a fire for roasting meat or heating water for yerba maté. Men made the arrangements to have a wife photographed "in her old Mapuche ornaments; she has nice ones you know." A non-Araucanian herbalist observed, "I have been in homes where a sick wife was treated to yerba maté by her husband and where he prepared the meal for the family."

The impression that the literature gives, that the Araucanian women were slaves to the men, was not substantiated by observations made during the present study. Neither did Araucanian women nor non-Araucanian informants consider it to be the truth.

Conflicts between husband and wife to the point of quarreling, or worse, occur but are rare, as in former times. Current cases were discussed in each area, but each case was cited as an exception. Quoting two Alepúe informants: "Our neighbor and his wife had a serious quarrel every few weeks for several years until a woman in their neighborhood was finally married; the wife accused her husband of having affection for this woman. Whenever she accused him of this, he whipped her with a lasso. Often her back had wales from the beatings. One time her husband pulled her out of the ruka by her hair. The wife came to us to complain; she pointed toward the other woman's ruka and yelled, 'There she lives, that devil!' The husband came to explain that he had merely talked to the woman." "One married couple here is known to quarrel much—something that is not a Mapuche custom. The wife tries to give orders that the husband thinks he should give; that is why they quarrel. I was there once, when a quarrel was on, and I told them that they were acting like Chileans; that such conduct was not customary among the Mapuche, and that ended it—at least for then." 593 578 [626]

Parents are fond of their children. One mother sat by, holding their 2-year-old baby in her lap, while her husband gave information. She cuddled the child, stroked its hair, repeatedly looked fondly at it, and gave it a prolonged kiss saying, "Ellaken!"—the equivalent of "You sweet thing! I could eat you up!" A father, too, was often seen 593

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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593 holding a small child in his lap or having an older one stand between his knees while he chatted with it. Children reciprocate parental affection. Often they were seen running toward father or mother who were returning home from gardens, fields, or trips. An 8-year-old girl chose as her project in school to knit a cap for her father. Parents proudly pointed at objects in the ruka that a child had made for either parent. "Mapuche idolize their children," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, who had been in all rukas in Alepúe area. "I have noticed that they allow children to do as they please at home. Seldom are children corrected and less seldom slapped or punished." No child was known to have been treated cruelly, except, on rare occasions, by an intoxicated father. One schoolboy whose father had deserted his family wrote in answer to the question, "Who is your father's favorite boy?" "My papa does not like his children."

Members of a family have affectionate interest in each other. When a family was preparing to be photographed, they all helped one another to look well groomed. One father helped a 19-year-old daughter place a silver headband properly on her head; another daughter fetched the mother's silver decorations; one of the girls told the 14-year-old brother to straighten his collar; the father made certain that the hats on the boys were properly tilted so that no shadows would darken their faces.

593 758 If a member of the family is sick, all other members are downcast. All stay in the ruka, and all will sit up most of the night. "I was in a ruka recently," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, "where the mother had sat up with a sick child continuously for three days and three nights. She was so exhausted that she nodded in sleep even while I was telling her what to do for the child. I have seen the same thing many times." Children are absent from school whenever there is sickness in the family.

593 Having a favorite child is not customary. Children of school age, however, know that the youngest child is often a father's favorite, and the oldest or the youngest son, the mother's, but never to the exclusion of other children. An 11-year-old boy wrote: "My mama loves my oldest brother most, but she loves me much and I love her much." [604] Informants were not acquainted with the Ilopu, a special relationship between a boy and his maternal uncle, noted by Cooper's sources (1946, p. 724). An endearing name used by a small child when addressing its father, its mother, and its aunts, today—formerly its father's other wives—and also men to whom it owes love or respect is chacha or chachai. A teen-age son and an older one address their father as chau within the family circle. In general conversation

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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a man or woman may address as chau a man from whom assistance is sought. 593

Affection between parents and children continues throughout life. It is shown by exchange of visits and gifts and by giving help whenever it is needed.

In general children are adequately provided with food and clothing. A man who neglects his wife and children is chided by his relatives and loses his status in the community. A father will make provision for a piece of land for each of his sons and daughters by laying claim to unassigned lands owned in common in the area. Fathers of families present their needs at meetings held by the men under the title of "The fathers of families." A Coñaripe father told of a discussion held by "The fathers of families" on the previous night regarding the partitioning of community-owned lands and noted that he expected to be given a piece. "I must see to it that each one of my children will have a piece of land when it grows up." Adopted children were cared for and loved as were all other children in the family. 558

According to a 100-year-old Coñaripe man, brothers and sisters spoke very little to one another when he was young; he believed this to have been a custom. Other informants—all at least 20 years younger than the old Coñaripe man—had not heard of the custom. Two Alepúe women, one 80 years of age, the other 46, were greatly surprised to hear of such a custom.

There are no brother-sister taboos among the Araucanians today. Nor is there a conventional pattern for reciprocal affection among siblings. Siblings of all ages observed during the present study acted as one would expect them to act: they helped each other and talked, played, went on errands, and walked long distances together. On occasions a brother showed affectionate care for his sister. In one instance a 22-year-old man brought his 19-year-old sister, who was suffering from a prolonged headache, to an herbalist. After stating that his sister was sick, he asked the sister to give details. During an interview in a ruka a 19-year-old girl rested her elbow on her 17-year-old brother's knee while they sat on the same bench listening in. A non-Araucanian herbalist heard an eldest son being commissioned by his dying mother to care for, advise, and direct his brothers and sisters—she did not want her husband to do so; she resented his having married a younger woman as a second wife. Most boys in an Alepúe school between the ages of 11 and 14 loved a younger brother most of all brothers; boys between 8 and 11 loved an older brother most, generally the oldest brother. Most girls in the school loved a younger brother more than any other brother. Boys between 11 and

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593 14 were evenly divided in their affection for sisters; all girls between 11 and 15 unhesitatingly named an older sister. Reasons why boys love their brother were "I like him," "He has an all-around good will," "He is the dearest one," "He is good to me." Girls like their sisters because "She gives me presents," "She gives me money," "She has good will toward me."

Children of the several wives of a man made no distinction among themselves. "We called each of my father's wives mother, and all the children of all the wives called each other brother and sister."

## CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

### BATHING, CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

515 [854] A very small child is given a bath by its mother when the mother takes her own. Older children take their own baths daily in all seasons, in brooks or rivers, at springs, or by swimming in deep waters of lakes. Bathing is usually done just before sundown. Girls of a family may go to the bathing place in groups but bathe singly; boys do likewise, but at a different time. Bathers scatter along the shore some distance apart. The hair is washed at each bathing; occasionally it is shampooed with suds made by rubbing bark of quillay between the hands. Children were often seen coming from bathing with dripping hair hanging loose over the shoulders. No soap or substitute is used in bathing. Winds are relied on for drying.

302 Washing the hair in human urine gives it luster, and occasionally a child will do so. "The odor is unbearable," said a teacher; "I send such a child to the brook to wash its hair. Only last Saturday a girl came for a sewing lesson with her hair in that condition."

The hair is combed, today, with factory-made combs, if one is owned. Persons living close to Argentina make the traditional family hairbrush (rəna) from calle calle or from rūna (unidentified), plants that grow in Argentina; in Alepúe area, rəna were made from coral, the plant from which brooms, too, are made. "The brush, so long [4 to 6 inches], is merely roots tied together with grass. We wet the hair first and then brush it." When in use, the root ends of the plants are grasped so that bristles are toward the little finger.

Formerly a boy's hair was cut neck length; today it is cut short "like Chileans wear theirs." Formerly a girl's hair was never cut; that of a small girl hung loose, or had narrow woven bands twisted into portions of it and tied back in a manner to keep the hair from the eyes. Today many small girls have the hair bobbed, "but old people

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551 Argentine army. "Every man was given a Christian name then, and the officers made him use his Araucanian name as a second name." A child was given the father's "second" name (Araucanian given name) as its surname when its birth was recorded. All adult men were very recently required by Argentine law to obtain from public officials a Libreta Enrolamiento; adult women, a Libreta Cívica (cf. p. 352), that is, a permit to vote at federal elections. Anyone who did not have a surname when applying for the permit was given his father's Araucanian name by the government officials issuing the voting permits. (Cf. List of Informants for present-day names.)

Children were not nicknamed; adults were. Anyone could nickname another. A nickname pointed out an unenviable quality possessed by the bearer, and was used only "when we were speaking among ourselves; not everyone knew everybody else's nickname." Examples of nicknames of men, friends of an informant, were: Black Hide, Liar, Black Belly, Bewildered Head, Wild Horse (he who was running to other women), Poncho of Tin (a lazy man). Women, too, were nicknamed. "There were always senseless women. If a woman was a prostitute, she was given a name because she was that way."

## THE FAMILY

### STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In general, the family that conformed to established law and order, followed the accepted pattern of behavior, and maintained its economic independence was respected. Families thought of as quite below the accepted norm were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, or in which a parent habitually drank to intoxication, or in which there was an unmarried mother.

### HUSBAND–WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT–CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER–SISTER RELATIONSHIP

593 The man dominated the family, but his wife and children had a status of importance and individuality within the family. If there was no resistance to the man's expressed authority, the household was usually a well-ordered and peaceful one. "Formerly families were like one; they wanted no disorder; everyone had to do his duty."

595 In general husband and wife lived together in peace and contentment. In cases of polygynous marriages, the wife first married—usually also the oldest one in years—gave orders to the others. She was exempted from such work as cooking and washing; the other

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wives took turns doing these. At extraordinary work, however, such as skinning animals or shearing sheep, all worked jointly. "My father had three wives that were not sisters to each other; they all lived in one toldo, but very agreeably so." 595

If husband and wife differed to the extent of quarreling, the wife generally gave in eventually. "If she would not keep still or do what her husband wanted her to do, things ended by the man hitting her." Instances where husband and wife did not live peacefully together were related by women who had been ill-treated by their husbands. 593 578

A disagreement sometimes reached the stage where the husband nearly killed his wife; but no case was recalled where a woman hanged herself to be relieved of an impossible marital situation. Causes for serious quarrels were drunkenness on the husband's part, infidelity or neglect of work on the wife's. "It is that way today," said an old woman. "My son often scolds his wife—I hear him. Then his wife complains to me. But I have noticed that she neglects her work; she is really stupid. I say to her, 'You are married and you must try to get along with your husband; and you must be prepared to suffer a little, too.'"

Children were loved by parents—in fact, by adults in general—and had much freedom within the family. No one child was given preference over others; all were expected to do their share of the work as soon as they were able to, and were held to their duty of doing so. 593 855

During this study children were seen with parents, grandparents, or other adult relatives everywhere, and they always seemed happy. Young mothers fondled their children and played with them. One tied a strand of grass about her baby's hair to keep it out of its eyes. While doing so she talked to the baby, and the baby jumped up and down on her lap, chattering. Another young mother repeatedly kissed her child and tickled it to make it laugh. Later the child sat on her lap, cooing to itself. Still later it toddled to an empty bucket, dropped something into it, and looked at its grandmother with surprise. The grandmother, too, put on a look of surprise and said, "What are you doing?" The child then laughed gleefully, and all present laughed with amusement. A young woman was rearing four children of her first marriage and three of her second (her first husband having died). All her children appeared happy, and, according to neighbors, no distinction was being made by the woman and her husband between the children of the two marriages.

Parents provided food, clothing, and shelter for their children; trained them in the mores of the people; taught them work expected

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593 [855] of them as grown-ups; chose a mate in marriage for each, and provided the exchange of marriage gifts.

The respect shown by children to parents was noteworthy. Parents spoke of young unmarried sons and daughters, gainfully employed, who gave part or all of their earnings to the general support of the family. They also spoke of the obedience of children; complaints about children were rare.

In general, children of a family were agreeable among themselves; quarrelsome ones were corrected, and sometimes punished. Children of simultaneous wives were taught to get along together. "We were like brothers and sisters; parents did not allow their children not to like one another; we had great respect for one another." There were no taboos regarding brother–sister relationships, such as speaking to each other or being in each other's presence.

## CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

### CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 Formerly a girl's hair was not cut but was worn in braids; today most girls have it cut. A boy has always worn his cut; "it was cut like one cuts wool off a sheep." It was cut for the first time when he was 2 to 3 years old.

515 Most children seen were clean and had the appearance of being well cared for; an occasional one had hair disheveled and face dirty. In general, when at home, children were barefoot and wore mended and faded clothes; in schools, villages, or in homes where visitors were expected, they wore better clothes, and usually shoes. (See pls. 62-67 for children.)

### SIGHT AND HEARING OF THE CHILD

151 Non-Araucanians spoke of the keen sense of sight and hearing of Araucanian children, and of adults, as well. "If they have once seen a horse, they can tell its tracks wherever they see them. Consequently, they can often tell you from a horse's tracks what person passed down the road or path," said an estancia owner who employed Araucanians. A cow or horse that has strayed into a herd of several hundred, or a strange sheep in a large flock, is immediately spotted by them. Children that accompanied the writer through woods and over meadows sighted hidden flowers in crevices, commented on unusually tall grass, and on colors of stones lying at a distance. Insects were identified by their buzzing and birds by their songs and call notes, and both were accurately mimicked.

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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons – and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth.

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is shunted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship overrides the purely economic interests between family members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

### Husband-Wife Relationships

Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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matters will be discussed between husband and wife, the wife outlining her plans to her husband and the husband agreeing or disagreeing as he sees fit. His disagreement, though, does not end the matter, for the wife is at liberty to dispose of what are considered her rightful possessions, even though her husband may hold a different opinion. It is the husband's place to make countersuggestions if he disagrees with his wife's proposals, but he seldom feels himself in a strong enough position to actually forbid her to act without restraint. Families in which husbands rule with an iron hand live in an atmosphere of discord which eventually comes to the attention of the community. Social pressures tend to restore a measure of harmony, at least after a crisis has been reached, since a husband is subject to certain ridicule if his wife complains about his actions to other women and derives sympathy from them. A man will, therefore, usually accede to a number of his wife's wishes if for no other reason than to keep the dissension from extending beyond his immediate family, to maintain at least the fiction of a well-ordered household. On the other hand, a nagging wife does not gain the sympathy of her housemates or neighbors, and it is the husband whose complaints or recourse to physical violence are sanctioned. A shrewish wife is sometimes regarded as *wesa* or *loca* (crazy).

After the spouses settle down to gaining a living and begetting children, there seems to be a noticeable de-emphasis of the romantic emotions which characterize early matrimony. While courtship behavior is notoriously secretive, the early marital period, before the birth of the first child, is one in which affection between husband and wife is often openly displayed in the presence of others. This relationship seems to undergo a marked change after the first child is born, but since I have seen only a few such cases my remarks are wholly impressionistic.

There seems to be no stigma attached to excessive virility in extramarital affairs or a lack of it in regard to familial sex. Indeed, the ideal male performance may be characterized as *machoismo*, or masculinity, in the Ladino sense with the full implication of promiscuity. Women may be ridiculed for displaying what is considered an overinterest in sex, indicated by their conversation and by their attentions to their husbands. There is the notion that a sexually "overactive" wife is given to looseness, an accusation sometimes made in arguments with other women.

Philandering brings no more than mild social rebuke, provided

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on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away—drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor—a member of his lineage—to intercede and advise the man against such action. This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

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593 ment to people of her husband's group. This period is much easier for her if she has real or classificatory sisters living on her husband's reservation or nearby. It is, however, the time when her husband, although perhaps most demonstratively affectionate to her, actually has least in common with her. Young husbands seem to yield their bachelor freedom with reluctance, and while sagacious wives are not supposed to upbraid them for this, they complain that the earliest years of marriage are least satisfying.

[851] After the birth of the first child a woman has much to busy her and to comfort her. It is at this time that she feels more at ease in her husband's natal community.

A man derives much satisfaction from the companionship of his wife. It is common for a man to call his wife by the Araucanized term *kompañ* (*compañero-a*). During leisure hours, at mealtimes, and [521] often long into the night a man and woman carry on almost endless conversations, exchanging news and gossip, talking about their children and relatives, planning the next day's activities and social visits, and the like.

593 A woman is apparently more submissive to her husband's authority 851 before the birth of children. Once a child has been born to the couple, the wife's position in the household is enhanced since it is she who assumes the major role in the care and control of the infant. This is not to say that there comes about a balance of authority, but the woman firmly establishes herself in the highly respected role of mother, which entitles her to privileges she would not otherwise be able to acquire and strengthens her relationship with her husband's lineage.

593 When a child is born it is wholly welcomed by the parents, who [855] dote on it. As far as my observations go, older children are generally gleeful about the new arrival. At least this was the case in two households in which I lived where children were born during my stay, and it seems not to have been contradicted by the other instances I was able to observe.

854 Although there is some sharing of responsibilities for the care and comfort of the infant by both parents, as well as by some of the older children, it is the mother who plays the major role in direct satisfaction of its needs. In consideration for the mother's extra labors, the 846 husband is likely to shoulder some of the domestic chores such as pro- 593 viding wood for the ever-going fire, fetching water, tending to the cook pot, and the like. If there are other children capable of per-

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forming these chores, the father will delegate them according to ability, sex, and age qualifications, or else the mother will direct the household management from her bed. In any case, a husband tends to relieve his wife of major duties during accouchement. Sometimes husbands make a cradle for the newborn child, although this is usually done in anticipation several months before delivery. Rattles and gewgaws might also be made by the father or other members of the household, as well as by friends and relatives who visit to see the baby and congratulate the parents.

A man seems to enjoy crooning to his newborn child and spends a good deal of his leisure time caressing it and holding it after the mother has returned to her normal household routine. Parents are quite patient with children, rarely speaking harshly to them or slapping them. While there is variation in handling children who are older, treatment of small babies seems to be uniformly gentle, if not consistently affectionate. Both father and mother take turns soothing a squalling infant. As long as there are infants in the household, a father is necessarily involved in such activities. I saw an instance in which a man soothed three toddlers at once each night during the two months I was a guest in his house. Not only did he demonstrate utmost patience, but he attempted to tell them instructive stories all the while—little of which I am sure they were able to understand.

So much attention is given infants and they are caressed so openly that it seems not unreasonable to think that the display of affection toward them is an outlet for the traditionally suppressed feelings between husband and wife which characterize all but the first months or earliest years of most marriages. The relationship between husband and wife surely alters perceptibly after children are born and companionship replaces the afore-mentioned romantic and otherwise atypical behavior, such as holding hands and singing love songs.

As the family increases, so does the mother's status within it. This depends on her importance in caring for the younger children and training them in the tasks they will perform during childhood and early adolescence. The husband openly recognizes his wife's importance in these matters, which reaffirms the cooperative relationship that is the keystone of family structure. Socialization, practical education, the channeling of anger, envy, possessiveness, and so forth devolve mainly upon the mother during the period when her children are young. She mediates to a great extent the attitudes and

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beliefs of her husband and by extension those of the larger society. The success with which parents raise their children is judged largely by traditional standards; and to the extent to which they are achieved, the bond between husband and wife draws tighter. It is a minor prestige-gaining mechanism. The wife attains community respect as she attains position within her household. The pride of a father in his children shows also the feelings for his spouse. A wife basks in this appreciation, cementing the husband-wife relationship.

When a child is born, new sets of relationships develop within the family as well as between the parents and the wider social group now standing in cognatic relationship to the infant. These modifications are especially noticeable in the case of a first child. It is not surprising that the birth of a first child is surrounded with a great deal more attention than that of successive children, although it is not implied that considerations of cognatic relationships are primarily responsible for this. However, the father's role at the birth of the first child differs considerably from that of later offspring, although there is a consistent attitude of joyful expectance, pride, and general satisfaction throughout. A difference is manifest in the man's concern over his wife's condition with the birth of the first child and his initial assumption of the duties of parenthood himself.

There is a connection between the concern over a first child and a belief that a new mother requires expert attention at delivery so that the fetus will be able to emerge with its eyes closed. For this reason, the services of a midwife are often obtained. Nowadays, a *machi* (shaman) might be called in to tend the mother, and there seem to be no misgivings about the *machi*'s connections with sorcery as is implied for the past. In the Roble Huacho region, one of the few *machis* I was able to meet had a reputation as an excellent midwife and general practitioner, and was frequently away from her home overnight practicing her specialty. She was a benign woman, which probably accounts for much of the confidence people had in her. In any case, much of the preparation and activity surrounding the birth of a woman's first child is taken out of her hands and her husband's, and specialized knowledge is generally utilized.

Birth takes place at home. The expectant mother is secluded in a section of the house, usually behind some temporary shield such as a straw mat or a suspended blanket. She may be active until heavy labor begins, however. When birth pains start she is usually attended by one or more women, one of whom may be a professional.

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553 [603] It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

[178] Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages [735] accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems [782] to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom fall- ing into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of [769] morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

### Mother-Child Relationships

593 [861] The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the [928] daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

858 868 In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores — in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

868 861 As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father. [593] There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

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dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often acknowledged by the girl herself. 868

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime. 593

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is replaced by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings. 593 574 [273] [431]

## Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him. 868 [593] [893]

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult work. 868 857 233 [885]

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work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms, seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, however, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learning process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father – even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today. The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions – especially those concerning the homestead – are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world – although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons – and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

## Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [582] [67]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [428]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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593 dignity in their relationship. This consideration shown by the older for the younger brother modifies the ascribed authority of the older and tends to make the fraternal relationship a relatively compatible one.

Discord between brothers might arise in childhood at about the time the older is attempting to slough off some of the more onerous chores and household duties onto the younger. These situations involve trickery, bantering, wheedling, and often result in outbursts of temper and fighting, but they do not set the tone of adolescent and adult fraternal relationships. If a mother cannot control her sons, she complains to their father, who settles the matter authoritatively. Boys are ashamed to be punished by their father since this is an indication of their immaturity. The fact that they have to demonstrate readiness to assume adult responsibilities conditions their behavior toward their father to a much greater degree than toward their mother.

There is a closeness between brothers which characterizes their relationship throughout life. This pattern is so strong that deviation [626] from it is cause for community gossip, if not pity for the principals. Brothers generally set up adjacent households, after moving from the parental roof, and engage in cooperative activities more frequently among themselves than with other residents on the reservation, perhaps with the exception of their father. Their children become the closest of friends, as do their wives, who, in line with traditional marriage practices, may be real or classificatory sisters themselves.

[613] From the time they reach full masculine vigor brothers generally form the strongest nucleus of their lineage branch and begin to displace their father in political and economic activities. As a fraternal group they stand united even against other kin, and there is a saying to the effect that brothers take up each other's arguments with "outsiders." Viewed from the outside, then, they form a solid front.

Brothers may unite in opposition to ideas or demands of their father, especially if they consider the old man's views to be old-fashioned. They tend to be "social" companions, accompanying one another to ceremonies, fiestas, to town, on visits, and so forth. One [584] often acts as the go-between in a love affair of the other; an older brother might help negotiate his younger brother's marriage. They form the most productive work unit of the household or *lofche*, if they live in an extended family, albeit under the guidance of their father. A further indication of the close working relationships among

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brothers is the lack of formality in their relationship throughout life. 593

Sisters cooperate in the domestic sphere, under the guidance of their mother. After marriage, if their husbands are not of the same [594] lineage, sisters see each other only on irregular visits, and reunions on their natal reservation. The frequency of their visits diminishes as their duties as wives and mothers increase. They become more fully integrated into their husband's community.

Between brother and sister there is a relationship of mutual respect, obligation, and interest in each other's affairs, growing out of their years of association in the parental household. A sister often [589] returns to her natal reservation when she is widowed or otherwise separated from her husband. Her brother will either take her into his own house or arrange to have a house built for her and her children. She has a privileged position in her brother's household, whether on a temporary or permanent basis. Each tends to influence the upbringing of the other's children and, as these become nubile, in assisting them with marriage.

Sisters display a great deal of affection by handholding, combing or delousing each other's hair, giving one another little gifts, and in numerous other ways. Brothers have a robust comradeship and are free and easy with each other in their social relationships. Brothers 834 and sisters do not maintain much physical distance between themselves. 593 There are no taboos concerning bodily contact, and brothers dance with sisters at fiestas and ceremonials. They often work together, go on long trips, and even live together after their parents die.

## THE JOINT-EXTENDED FAMILY

The essential structural difference between an elementary and an 596 extended family is that the former is an indivisible unit, whereas the latter is a complex unit composed of more than one elementary family. If the special relations which serve to bind the elementary-family units into an extended family should cease to operate, the extended family would cease to exist as such. The cyclical tendency whereby elementary families become extended and extended families revert to an elementary unit has already been noted as a characteristic development within the ideal multifamily system.

These cyclical changes result in adjustments in interpersonal relationships among household members. Particularly difficult adjustments may have to be made by mother- and daughter-in-law, involving

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anything more than flirtation and the bodily contact that certain dances afford. 836

Ceremonial dancing, which is largely limited nowadays to the *ñillatun* rite, is not without its opportunities for sexual advances. [535] Many young people who dance together at these ceremonies are already courting. If this is not the case, pairing off for ceremonial dancing might bring the possibility of a match to the minds of the [584] parents, who are also in attendance and who are apt to take special notice of this sort of thing. Later, the parents might individually encourage the affair. If they are dissatisfied, however, they could profit from the ceremonial occasion and publicly discourage the young people.

While premarital sex is always a *sub rosa* affair, parents become 836 concerned if their children are not proceeding along the road to 584 courtship and marriage. Bashfulness in public is ridiculed by parents. Young people are encouraged to mingle, especially when they are chaperoned by responsible adults.

A young man receives his greatest assistance in love affairs from [593] males of his peer group, usually parallel cousins or brothers, but he [605] also obtains great encouragement from his sisters and other close female relatives. Sisters will tease him about his interest in a certain girl, perhaps in this way bringing it to the attention of the parents for the first time. They advise him that bashfulness is not becoming to a man and might also tell him that "as in the past" his marriage will have to be arranged for him. Mothers sometimes follow a similar line, but couch their remarks more gently. They characteristically work behind the scenes in forwarding a suit of which they approve. Fathers seldom concern themselves directly in these matters, especially refraining from giving advice to their daughters. With this exception, the entire household takes an active interest in a proper love affair, and it is in time thoroughly discussed, although questions and answers are generally dissembled by teasing and mockery.

## ILLICIT LOVE AFFAIRS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS 584

Pregnancy most often leads to marriage, in which case there are 836 no major interpersonal and social upheavals, provided the marriage 848 is within licit bounds. The young man is prevailed upon by his sweetheart in the name of the child to be born and her own hapless condi-

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836 835 the possibility of pregnancy. When the matter was finally called to the attention of the young man's mother, the affair was effectively terminated.

The families of the two individuals involved were close friends who visited each other often for the purpose of eating, drinking, singing, and dancing. There was also economic cooperation between them and a liberal exchange of food in the form of gifts. A little boy of one of the families worked for the other and performed household chores and tended the stock, for which he received food and a place to sleep.

On each occasion after an evening get-together at the house of the young man, the oldest daughter of the other family found some pretext for the young man to accompany her outside the house. He did not always respond. He denied that he did any more than walk her part of the way home, since her parents were usually too drunk to follow a direct route to their house. His brother laughed at these explanations and, in this context, his mother's obvious disapproval of the girl seemed based on her suspicion that the purpose of walking the girl home was amorous.

One evening when the young man did not walk the girl home, his brother teased him about it until they almost came to blows. In the argument, the young man said that he was not worried about having to marry her if she became pregnant, because any man for miles around could be accused of fathering her offspring, that she was like her mother in this respect. Since she was thought to be promiscuous, she was considered fair game. This reasoning put an end to a heated argument as far as the brothers were concerned, but it led to their mother's grumbling about the immorality of incest and the evil it would bring. It is unlikely that the mother had been oblivious of the relationship between the girl and her son, but having it called forcefully to her attention caused her to speak out against it in traditional terms. Her continual reference to the matter during subsequent days, especially at mealtime and to everyone's annoyance, seems to have had the results she desired. The young man did not tryst with the girl as far as I know, and she stopped accompanying her family to his house after the next two visits.

[59] There are several important factors involved in this case. For one thing the mother's influence over her oldest son, a young man of about thirty who had been head of the household since his father died, comes into view. The issue of promiscuity is raised, and is sufficient

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proximate ethnographic reality reflects a different set of interests than the model diagram which nicely converges on the ancestor-god. Therefore, segments of the maximal lineage may be said to function differently depending on whether involvement of the membership is economic, political, or ritual in nature—[illegible]ke three of the most interesting and important spheres of social action.

### *The Chain of Intrafamilial Relationships*

As already indicated, the family, defined as a land-using household group, whether in the extended or elementary phase of development, has emerged as the basic economic (agricultural) unit in Mapuche society. As the lineage-based residential group has increased in size of membership, so has it diminished in importance as a unit in day-to-day cooperative enterprise. It is the household or small group of closely related households which carries out the basic economic activities.

The family may be viewed from several angles, depending on which kinds of relationships are to be examined. It may be discussed as a structural unit comparable to other such units in the society. It may also be conceived of as a special relationship in time, which exists until its members establish new sets of relationships which affect both the composition and the organization of the family. The nature of any family changes in the course of years and generations, most obviously with respect to births, marriages, deaths, and the realignments these imply.

It is with a highly selective aspect of the family constellation that I am now concerned, that is, with the family as a link in a chain of social relationships over time. Of greatest importance to this study is the family as a microcosm of the lineage, as a structure of continuity in Mapuche society. There are certain key relationships which are family-based, and which serve to maintain social continuity. These are the relationships between father and son, between brothers, and, especially, the relationship between grandfather and grandchild.

As in other patrilineal systems, it generally holds that the intrafamilial relationship of most immediate structural significance is that between father and son. In Mapuche society, inheritance, at least in theory, is equal among a man's legitimate sons.

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000 sons. It is directly from the father that all sons acquire
593 lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These
421 include the right to land and house site, the right to participate
613 in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the
[178] community. Today, these rights are more immediately invested
[592] in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they
622 seem to have been in the recent past. A few generations ago, the
178 chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the
421 apportionment of land, controlled political decisions, organized economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry (connected with his control over land), and conducted game activities (for military preparedness). While the chief is still the repository of such power, he seldom takes an active part in granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the lineage, in the two-generational or, at most, the three-
[596] generational branches. In many cases, these are extended-family groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father farmed a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among heirs which called for lineage arbitration.

613 Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a
622 man's sons. These are indeed birth rights, theoretically subject
421 to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed
[428] by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from infringement by kinsmen who are not one's immediate family. There are sufficient exceptions to this *de facto* condition, however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the chief is more than the mere titular head of the community. The chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the
[428] elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance system, as one example, operates in seeming independence of lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe seriously on the rights of others. This is an indication of the smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

000 When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality,

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When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, however, we must pass from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage.

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries.

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral lore from their parents. This knowledge is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. any *laku*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child

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867 603 593 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 829 603 613 [769] [601] [553] The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun* (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words ***kume laku pu am,*** which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheana. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

59 182 867 [603] Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of ***kume laku pu am,*** and are truly cosmic in origin. At

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with respect to total Mapuche society.

The most significant way in which to consider marriage practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved. What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most important.

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega-

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[756] nated the domestic scene. Their husbands showed them greater
[593] than ordinary consideration, listened to their opinions in a somewhat subservient manner, and remained largely in the background except when spoken to and called upon to assist their wives.

Shamanistic lore is sometimes learned from one's mother or a woman on the mother's side of the family, but a *machi* does not, according to the few genealogies I was able to obtain, inherit power from one's mother or from a close kinswoman. I will consider this obviously significant concept later in the chapter. Whatever the nature of inheritance, whether or not a woman trains to become a *machi* depends on her personal capabilities and special qualities, as well as on the availability of a teacher who appreciates them, and the willingness or ability of her parents to pay the cost of instruction. All *machi*, and therefore, all neophytes, must demonstrate exceptional sensitivity to dream experiences, perspicacity in interpersonal relationships, good memories, and adeptness in making herbal remedies for most
[554] common illnesses. Much of their reputation in curing the more common fevers and malaise depends on their store of remedies; only *machi* with extraordinary ability to enter trance are sought out for the curing of illnesses which appear to forebode death.

Training includes the mastery of lengthy and intricate orations and songs (partly in a special language) and the concoction of appropriate remedial potions. As neophytes, young women perform a series of menial chores, such as heating the *machi's* drum to tighten the skin, gathering herbs, and preparing medicines under their teacher's supervision. They spend long hours committing to memory the various incantations. The
[787] most difficult and crucial part of their training is developing an
[276] ability to induce trance, for which there is no use made of narcotics. Finally, a *machi* must perform before her teacher and other *machi*, proving her ability, in a ceremony variously called *machitun*, *machipurun* (most common), *pillantun*, or *ñekurewen*, during which she becomes symbolically united with the sacred branches of the cinnamon (*canelo*) tree.

Shamans sometimes train their own daughters, provided they have suitable qualities of alertness and a proclivity for handling

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754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common senti-
578 ment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore,
618 women standing in such relationship are generally married to
613 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already
182 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from
582 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in
578 entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroil-
593 ments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations
[618] made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that
[626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the
593 public eye, since murder is not involved.

754 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among
595 in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious
[832] illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to
[842] gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche-
[178] land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

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However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal item of gossip, and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in such matters. If they do, they first recriminate with their own wives, preferring to dissuade them of their notions and fears, while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given their basic assumption) with other men. This is always a male solution. Women tend to engage the services of a *machi* to obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes self-confessed) evildoer.

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity, a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in which common interests have been extolled—and that it is characteristic of reservations having a ritually active priest-chief. These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through the extension of generational kin terms and through the voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These features speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members of unrelated coresident lineages, nevertheless, are more often accused of being witches themselves than is the case within one's own kingroup. Sometimes suspicions of murder-by-witchcraft arise but, as far as I could learn (on two of the five reservations where specific charges had been made) these were resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or attempted surreptitious murder in reprisal. In short, they did not have serious consequences.

On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to